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ABSTRACT

The Urban Education Studies were motivated by the conviction that in many city school districts there are developments which may become forerunners of fundamental transformations in elementary and secondary education. Several distinctive features were incorporated into the design of the studies, such as concentration on unusually successful programs in high priority areas and the use of study teams of qualified persons from urban districts and universities. Five hundred and ninety-nine successful programs from 30 large cities were reviewed. Urban education, it was concluded, has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions. An increasing number of community agencies and groups are joining with the schools to develop enriched environments for learning. In this way, the gulf between schools and society is being bridged. Innovative programs and alternatives are producing significant options and changing the quality of educational experiences at both elementary and secondary levels. Federal intervention has either triggered or expedited a high proportion of the successful innovations, but success still rests heavily on local leadership. (Author/AM)

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URBAN EDUCATION: PROGRESS TOWARD RENEWAL AND REFORM

Salient Characteristics of the Urban Education Studies

Tentative Generalizations and Plans for Future Studies

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URBAN EDUCATION: PROGRESS TOWARD RENEWAL AND REFORM

by

Francis S. Chase

Events of the past two decades have convinced many thoughtful persons that major transformations in educational institutions and practices are long overdue. Among the reasons for expecting a sharp break with traditional school practices are the following:

1. The increased sensitivity to denial of rights on the basis of race, sex, places of residence, or sheer inertia.

2. Federal (and State) legislation, regulations, and court decisions in support of equal opportunity and civil rights.

3. The rapid changes in the populations of large cities and the accompanying gross inadequacies and inequities in housing, schooling, and opportunities for employment.

4. The virtual bankruptcy of many city school systems and municipal governments.

5. Air pollution, increase in crime, and other contributors to the deterioration of urban life.

6. The technological revolution which has made television, computers, and the jet plane, as well as the automobile, important shapers of culture, employment opportunities, and values.

7. Dissatisfaction on the part of students, parents, employers, and other citizens with educational performance and achievement and with nearly every aspect of school operation.

The Urban Education Studies were motivated by (1) the conviction that far reaching changes are needed, and beginning to be made, in the provisions for education in our large cities; (2) the belief that the time is ripe for educational research keyed to constructive action; and (3) the hope of uniting school and university personnel in many countries in a common effort to raise the quality of education through research keyed to constructive

measures of renewal and reform. This set of convictions led the author to submit a proposal to the Spencer Foundation, which responded with a grant to support exploratory studies in large city districts. The Council of the Great City Schools accepted an invitation to become the primary sponsor of the Studies (and recipient and disburser of Foundation Funds); and the University Council of Educational Administration later voted to become a co-sponsor.

Purposes, Strategies, and Procedures

In accordance with the original proposal, the Urban Education Studies are directed toward the advancement of three kinds of objectives:

Increased knowledge of promising developments and problem-solving strategies;

Facilitation of world-wide communication among those providing leadership for the improvement of education; and

Acceleration of efforts toward renewal and reform.

The Studies are designed to reinforce the work of other agencies and to give impetus to desirable trends and developments which are in the making. In order to serve the function of stimulating, expediting, and giving an added measure of direction to efforts to increase the effectiveness of education in our cities, several distinctive features were incorporated into the design of the Studies. Among these were:

1. Concentration on areas of urban education which are high on the list of national and international priorities.

   Action-Learning, especially efforts to provide work experience, voluntary service experience, career exploration, and related experiences for all secondary school students.

   Cultural Pluralism, including recognition of the values of cultural diversity; removal of racial, ethnic, and sex barriers; multicultural

programs; and other approaches to reconciliation of the values of unity and diversity.

Basic Skills, involving identification and establishment of conditions which will enable every individual to acquire the skills and disposition for lifelong learning.

Special Education, or improved programs for the education of the handicapped, another area which is receiving increased attention from urban school systems in the United States and elsewhere.

School-Community Collaboration, or the establishment of networks of community agencies to reinforce and supplement learning experiences provided by the schools.

2. Identification and analysis of programs reported to be unusually successful in increasing educational motivation and achievement. This process was started with collection of baseline data from large cities in the United States and continued through the site visits to five cities. Analyses of the data from these preliminary studies are being used to refine procedures for future studies.

3. The use of study teams composed of experienced and knowledgeable personnel (including both men and women of minority races and cultures) from both urban districts and urban universities. Each district participating in the on-site studies contributed a minimum of six-person weeks for studies in other districts; and university professors contributed their time to the studies in order to gain a better understanding of problems in urban education and to facilitate solution of these problems. Travel expenses for members of the site-visit teams were paid from UES funds; and graduate students and other competent young persons were paid modest stipends for conducting structured interviews with students. The on-site studies covered a full week in each district and involved from 18-20 persons (or 90-100 person days, contributed for the greater part by participating urban districts and universities). The briefing and feedback sessions during the site visits became, in effect, a series of seminars focused on means of improving urban education.

Comments on the Pilot Year

The response to the Urban Education Studies has been remarkably enthusiastic. Thirty of the Nation's large city school districts provided descriptive and other data on a total of 599 programs which they rate among their most successful. Tables 1-4 give enrollment and cost data for the responding cities

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR THIRTY CITIES*

School District	Total Enrollment	Black %	White %	Hispanic %	Other %	Per Student Cost $
New York	1,099,004	37.9	30.5	29.0	2.6	2169
Los Angeles	631,460	24.3	36.9	32.2	6.6	1870
Chicago	530,000	59.4	24.9	14.1	1.6	1889
Philadelphia	258,000	62.2	31.8	5.5	.5	2148
Dade County	240,248	28.0	41.5	30.0	.5	1520
Detroit	236,657	79.0	19.0	2.0	-	-
Hawaii	174,388	1.1	20.5	6.2	72.2	-
Dallas	137,598	47.0	38.0	14.0	1.0	1260
Cleveland	123,953	58.5	37.8	3.0	.7	1299
San Diego	115,477	14.5	66.0	14.0	5.5	1578
Milwaukee	109,500	37.9	55.2	4.5	1.2	1880
New Orleans	93,209	80.0	16.5	2.0	1.0	1021
Saint Louis	84,003	71.8	27.9	.3	.0	-
Atlanta	82,884	83.3	11.2	.3	.2	1243
Indianapolis	82,002	44.0	55.0	.5	.5	-
Nashville	78,240	30.0	69.0	.08	.92	1310
Denver	72,775	20.6	48.5	28.8	2.1	2472
Fort Worth	69,364	34.6	51.0	13.8	.6	-
San Francisco	68,943	28.7	22.0	17.0	32.3	1923
San Antonio	65,393	16.1	14.8	69.1	.0	-
El Paso	62,882	3.0	34.0	62.0	1.0	-
Portland	60,334	12.3	86.2	1.2	.3	1725
Toledo	55,456	29.9	66.0	3.7	.4	1232
Oakland	54,768	67.4	16.4	7.9	8.3	1791
Buffalo	54,722	44.5	50.4	3.6	1.5	1800
Kansas City, Mo.	50,947	60.8	35.5	3.6	.1	-
Minneapolis	**50,468	12.5	80.9	1.0	5.6	1695
Norfolk	48,153	52.0	44.0	.5	3.5	1074
Pittsburgh	-	45.4	54.2	.1	.3	-
San Jose	-	2.0	71.0	25.0	2.0	-

SUMMARY

Range of Enrollments - 48,153(Norfolk) to 1,099,004(New York)
Range of Per-Student Cost - $1,074 - $2,472
Number of Districts with:
White Majorities or Pluralities.....14
Black Majorities or Pluralities.....12
Hispanic Majorities or Pluralities..... 2
Other Majorities or Pluralities..... 2

*Data provided by the Council of Great City Schools
**Based on 1974 Data

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED PROGRAMS BY AREA

Action Learning	112
On-The-Job-Training by Business and Industry	83
Community Services	29
Basic Skills	145
Reading	67
Math	47
Other Skills	31
Cultural Pluralism	136
Bilingual and Multicultural	63
Elimination of Bias	39
Intercultural Interaction	34
School/Community Interaction	143
Community-Based Experiences	53
Shared Planning	51
Communication Network	39
Other Successful Programs	63
Total Programs Reported	599

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF REPORTED PROGRAMS BY AREA AND ETHNICITY

Program Area	Black %	White %	Hispanic %	Other %
Action Learning	53.3	31.9	12.5	2.3
Basic Skills	42.3	41.7	15.1	.9
Cultural Pluralism	18.5	31.7	44.0	5.8
School/Community Interaction	21.1	50.6	24.9	3.4

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF REPORTED PROGRAMS BY AREA AND SOURCE OF FUNDING

Program Area	Federal %	Federal and Others %	Non-Federal* %
Action Learning	34.0	14.0	52.0
Basic Skills	55.0	15.5	29.5
Cultural Pluralism	39.0	33.3	27.7
School/Community Interactions	40.1	5.3	54.6

* or not identified as Federal

and a partial breakdown of programs reported by areas, ethnic/racial enrollments and sources of funding. It may be noted that a large proportion of the programs reported as most successful are funded in whole or in part by Federal funds. This is true of over 70 per cent of the successful programs reported under Cultural Pluralism; more than 60 per cent of the Basic Skills' programs; and nearly half of those reported under Action-Learning.

Between September and December 1977 site visits were made to the public school systems in Atlanta, Dallas, Milwaukee, Oakland, and Toledo. Teams of three or four site visitors accepted responsbility for examination of the nominated programs in each of the areas under study. After reading the available descriptive and evaluative reports, the teams were briefed by the administrators in charge of the several programs. Subsequently, the teams spent three or more days observing students in school and out-of-school activities. In every case, observation was followed by close questioning of students, as well as of program directors and teachers.

During the same period, structured interviews were conducted with approximately 1500 middle school and high school students who were enrolled in the programs rated successful by the five cities. An overwhelming majority of the students in these innovative programs expressed enthusiasm or high satisfaction with their experiences. The reasons given for satisfaction related in most cases to enlarged opportunities for learning or for pursuing activities related to strong interests and career aspirations. For example, more than 60 per cent of those in action-learning programs, and over 50 per cent

in both basic skills and multicultural programs gave the nature of learning experiences or the amount of learning as reasons for their preferences for the innovative programs.

Encouraging Developments

Other papers on this Symposium deal with impressions and findings in the four areas of Action-Learning, Basic Skills, Cultural Pluralism, and School/Community Interactions. The comments in this paper will be largely confined, therefore, to findings and inferences which apply to developments in more than one area or aspect of urban education. A review of the successful programs described by the thirty districts and the follow-up site visits in five cities provides support for the following summary of encouraging developments.

1. Urban education has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions. Despite well documented testimony on the low achievement in urban schools and recent statistics purporting to show the schools as the most dangerous place to be, we are discovering many administrators, teachers and other staff members who are demonstrating ability to arouse zest for learning in students from diverse backgrounds, including those whose histories have been marked by failure, loss of hope, and/or anti-social behaviors.

2. There is a deepening concern for the needs not well served by traditional schooling. Fewer educators and board members now attribute low achievement to inherent disabilities, lack of effort, or poverty of parents; and more and more are revising upward their expectations for students formerly regarded as slow learners. Efforts to adapt the curriculum to students and to create motivation

and conditions for effective learning are likewise increasing in a number of schools and programs.

3. An increasing number of community agencies and groups are joining with the schools to develop enriched environments for learning; and the gulf between schools and society is being bridged in many new ways. The recruitment of citizen volunteers to serve as counselors, resource persons, and tutors is gaining momentum; and larger and larger numbers of parents are being involved as partners in the education of their own and other children. Opportunities for experience-based education are being considerably enlarged through part- or full-time employment and internships. Business and industry are lending their resources and facilities for an expanded range of experiences which foster the development of responsibility, provide an understanding of the values of different kinds of occupations, and contribute to the development of knowledge and skills. Training and on-the-job experiences also are being offered through hospitals, medical and dental offices, child care centers, and services for the aged. Unprecedented opportunities are being opened to many students in the performing and visual arts, in museums, andother cultural institutions. Internships in the several branches of city, state, and national government are offering new understandings of the responsibilities of citizenship, as well as career exploration.

4. Innovative programs and alternatives are producing significant changes in the character of educational experiences provided at both elementary and secondary levels. With the active support and participation of community organizations and citizens, educators in many cities are creating significant alternatives to

traditional and inappropriate classroom experiences. Observations of these innovative programs, and interviews with students, gave evidence of increased motivation and zest in learning for many students with a wide ragne of backgrounds, aspirations, and learning styles. The direction of change in a number of the more successful and promising programs appears to be away from an excessively verbal curriculum toward the offering of choices among a variety of experiences in the arts, community institutions and services, and places of work and recreation. Prescriptive instruction and passive student compliance with teacher assignments are being replaced by responsive modes of instruction and by learning experiences adapted to student's expressed needs and interests. Consequently, the range of options open to students and their parents are significantly broader than the options presented by the traditional elective system or choices among academic, vocational, and other traditional offerings.

5. The conditions essential to the success of magnet schools and other options are beginning to be better understood; and progress is being made toward creation of the essential conditions. Systematic curriculum development and modification is proceeding with improved provisions for initial and continuing staff development. The need for better counseling to help students make wise choices of experiences is being recognized: and efforts are being made to adapt instructional materials, facilities. and technologies to student characteristics. Moreover. there is beginning to be a more general acceptance of the importance of evaluation at every stage of development, implementatio, and subsequent operation.

If taken without qualification, the foregoing discussion of encouraging developments in urban education could be regarded as an excessively optimistic view. It may be said that we are guilty of pinpointing a few positive achievements or transitory Hawthorne effects while ignoring the rather dismal experiences of large numbers of students. We are not unaware, however, that we are describing small beginnings on an enormous task of educational reconstruction, which demands and deserves a much more effective mobilization and use of resources than has yet occurred. We are inclined, however, to look for signs of progress in the same spirit that one hails the early crocus or the first robin as harbingers of Spring. The programs described in the papers by Jackson, Schwandt, Taylor, and Valverde usually incorporate a combination of features which appear to account for the enthusiasm with which they are hailed and the measure of success they are achieving. We believe that ways can be found to build into other aspects of education the features which distinguish these successful programs.

Examples of Successful Programs

I would like now to use a few of these programs to illustrate, not only some of the ingredients of success, but also some of the possibilities for combining the essential elements into other programs and aspects of school operations. For my first example, I shall go the city of Toledo where school closings (ordered becuase of lack of funds) forced the rescheduling of our visit. Here, we encountered multiple reasons for discouragement on the part of school personnel and others interested in the future of education and of the city. Four attempts to raise the

tax levy to provide more nearly adequate funding had failed; the teacher organization and the school administration had not succeeded in uniting their efforts in support of financing or needed reforms; the Superintendent of schools had offered his resignation in order to remove himself as a possible object of controversy; public opinion seemed divided and highly critical of the schools; and there was evidence of communication breakdowns within the school system as well as between the schools and the public. A bleak picture, but relieved, as we found, by many shining examples of effective education.

Work-Study Programs. I shall focus on two programs which in one sense may be said to serve as "rescue missions" for youth who have enjoyed little previous sense of achievement in school or in life. One of these programs is known as PEP, for pre-employment preparation. The program accepts dropouts and delinquents either by referral from the schools or application from students and parents. The leadership of the program is characterized by an unflagging faith in the undeveloped potential of students, even when their behaviors seem to suggest they are unredeemable. The ingenuity and endless patience of the program leader and the staff are buttressed by the confidence and support of the central administration, and by many community agencies whose assistance has been enlisted. The program is funded through a combination of federal, state, and local resources. One striking characteristic of PEP is the way in which the experiences are adapted to student needs and interests, so that the student is always the center and the starting point for curriculum, counseling and instruction. As the title of the program suggests, the program operates to help young

people, (many of whom have been in trouble with the law as well as with school authorities) to develop skills for learning and productive work together with attitudes of responsibility and cooperation. Through a variety of imaginatively contrived experiences, most students develop to the point where they may be returned to their home schools, placed in internships or on-the-job training, or recommended for full-time employment or additional training opportunities. From conversations with many of the students, it was apparent that they are acquiring a new sense of worth and beginning to believe that they can make good lives for themselves.

There are several other programs in Toledo which I am tempted to describe, but I shall restrain myself to brief comments on only one other: the Jefferson Skills Center. The Toledo Public Schools purchased the old Central Post Office -- a beautiful historic landmark -- for $1 and, with the aid of federal rehabilitation funds, transferred it into a magnificently equipped facility for the development of employable skills. The program leadership recruited skilled craftsmen, mechanics, marketing personnel, and other skilled instructors from business and industry. It also established cooperative relationships with a number of business and industrial organizations in order to supplement the training provided in the Center, to facilitate job placement, and to break down the barriers between schools and work places. Conversations with instructors and students and the records of achievement and employment indicate that this program is achieving a high degree of success. As present the Center is not fully utilized; and this is true also of other Skills Centers in Toledo. Toledo school

administrators are conscious of the need to improve student perceptions of the experiences provided by the centers through counseling, better communication and otherwise.

The Arts in Education. For my next examples, I would like to describe some features found to some extent in programs in all of the cities visited; but I shall choose programs from Milwaukee and Dallas, which emphasize the place of the arts in elementary and secondary education. In 1970 music programs known as Success Through Strings (STS) and Learning Through Piano (LTP) were introduced in the Dunbar Elementary School which had the lowest average family income in the city. These music programs, and programs in other areas, were developed in the Dunbar Community Learning Center which was one of the earliest attempts to employ systematic research and development strategies for curriculum development in urban districts. These programs operate on the assumption that important achievements can be put within reach of every child, and that development of the child's potential requires the combined efforts of home and school. One requirement for admission to STS (a modification of the Suzuki violin method) is the participation of a parent. Two notable results have followed: First, the achievements in music have received national recognition through invitations in two successive years to perform at the Music Educators National Conference; and second, academic achievement of the students involved in these programs has increased dramatically, and a majority of them have advanced from two years or more below grade level to grade level or above.

In the fall of 1977, the Elm Creative Arts Elementary School began operations

in Milwaukee. This school, with students in K-5, is housed in a beautifully restored one-hundred year old building with high ceilings and wide-board flooring. The building has been enhanced by new paint with colorful stripings on the exterior and by murals representing Olympic themes on the stairs, in the gymnasium, and on other suitable wall space. There is a resident artist who is an accomplished wood carver, producing African masks and other symbolic sculptures. There is also a well qualified dance teacher; and the efforts of these resident artists are supplemented by visiting artists from the community. The concept of "children as artists as well as pupils" proved so attractive to Milwaukee parents that applications poured in from all parts of the city. The result was enrollment of 56 per cent white students in this school which formerly enrolled only Blacks. Observation in this school, and talks with students and teachers, indicate that reading, math, and other skills, far from being neglected, are being pursued with a zest carried over from creative activities. All students manifested a good feeling about themselves and enthusiasm for the program.

The Dallas Independent School District is also among the cities which has moved strongly to establish magnet high schools in the inner-city with the dual purpose of promoting racial/ethnic integration and high quality education. With this in mind, Dallas persuaded a distinguished theater director and scholar to become director also of the Arts Magnet High School, located in the old Booker T. Washington High School. This Arts Magnet, now in its second year of operation, enrolles 701 students, of which 50.4 per cent are Black, 41.5 per cent white, 6.6 per cent Mexican Americans,

and 1.6 per cent other. Both resident and visiting artists serve as members of the staff. Of the fifty full-time instructors, thirty-three teach in the four clusters of dance, drama, music, and visual arts, and seventeen in the academic subjects. The full-time staff is supplemented by the part-time services of forty-five professionals in the arts. Admission was open to all who were interested in combining experience in the arts with other aspects of learning; and all parts of the city are represented in the enrollment. On the ITBS Reading Comprehension subtest ninth grade students are 1.2 years below grade level and twelfth grade students 2.9 years below. The deficiencies in mathematics are even greater. There has not been sufficient time to predict the effects of the new experiences on academic achievement, but there are a number of encouraging signs. Evaluation is built into the design, development, and implementation of the programs at the Arts Magnet High School, and an assistant evaluator from the Research and Evaluation Department is assigned full-time for this purpose. There is evidence that evaluative information is receiving careful study and being used for modification of programs and procedures.

Use of Community Resources. On the site visits, we found many outstanding examples of how museums and other community resources are being used to supplement school experiences. The Oakland Unified School District has developed particularly close relationships with the Chabot Science Center and Observatory and with the California Museum. The latter graphically depicts California's natural resources, cultural history and the migration of peoples. One unusual feature in Oakland is the way in which school personnel

works with the staffs of the Center and the Museum to provide in-depth experiences at appropriate stages of development for all Oakland students (and many from surrounding districts). In Milwaukee, a new Arts Center offers a rich variety of resources which are being used to good effect to increase their motivation for all kinds of adventures in learning.

New Educational Alternatives. No development in education in recent years has attracted more attention than the development of schools, and programs within schools, which offer significant alternatives to traditional schooling. Among the more promising of the alternatives observed during our site visits were the Far West High School and the Regional Occupations Centers in Oakland, which provide training for a wide variety of occupations; the Alternative Programs in Atlanta, which include such ingenious departures from tradition as Project Propinquity and Schools Without Walls; the six Magnet High Schools in Dallas, which supplement the Skyline Career Development Center and offer a wide range of educational and vocational experiences through clusters of related careers; and the Milwaukee Specialty Programs attached to senior high schools.

One characteristic common to these programs is the emphasis on action-learning or involvement in firsthand experiences in places of employment, the performing arts, or other situations where special skills can be developed along with a deepened sense of responsibility for the effects of one's behavior on others and on the achievement of goals. Another common characteristic of these programs is that students get firsthand acquaintance with the values and behaviors which operate in different occupations.

Still another characteristic is that these options offer students opportunities for deliberate choices of experiences perceived as in line with strong personal interests or career aspirations. Our site visits revealed a strong sense of commitment, a developing perception of their own capabilities, and unusual zest for learning among students in these optional programs. These attitudes promise increased prospects of success in the new programs and motivation for removing deficiencies in basic learning skills.

The examples given above are of unusually successful programs which involve learning in work places or situations significantly different from the typical classroom or science laboratory. These programs also benefit from high community involvement. Space limitations make it impossible to give even thumb-nail descriptions of exciting programs observed in the basic skills, bilingual and multicultural education, programs for the talented and gifted, or special education for the handicapped. For the same reason there is no description of movements of great promise such as parents as partners in learning; peer, parent and volunteer tutoring; school adoptions by churches, universities, businesses, and other organizations; or the numerous contributions to planning and decision-making by many types of advisory committees. So much is happening in one or more of the five districts visited that a remarkable educational transformation would occur if all of the successful innovations could be fully realized in any single district.

It is also true that we found no perfect program, none fully implemented, none that do not require continuing evaluation, modification and renewal.

Moreover, no district as yet has a fully functioning management system for the achievement of specified objectives at given levels, although promising management systems are being developed for early childhood education, the basic skills, and career education. Provisions for research and evaluation as the foundation for curriculum and staff development and renewal are nowhere adequate, although some districts, such as Dallas, have strong and effective research and evaluation units.

Patterns are Emerging

Our studies tend to emphasize the importance of the Federal role and at the same time reveal the crucialty of local or situational factors to program success. In the latter respect, our findings reinforce those of other observations and research studies, of which reference is made here to only two.

Paul Berman, Senior Social Scientist for the Rand Corporation, in recent Congressional testimony, summarized findings from Rand's extensive research on educational innovations funded by federal programs. The burden of Berman's testimony was that "an innovation's local instructional setting had the major influence on its outcomes". He emphasized again and again the importance of local implementation strategies, the leadership of principals and project directors, and a supportive district environment. He observed that:

> ...The prospects for more effective policy would seem to lie in understanding these local processes and the factors within and outside of the district that affect them.[1]

[1]Testimony to the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, July 28, 1977.

A recent article by four scholars concluded a critique of the study by Abt Associates for the U. S. Office of Education in these words:

> ...Particular models that worked well in one town worked poorly in another. Unique features of the local settings had more effect on achievement than did the models...[2]

The studies in the five cities have provided additional evidence of the importance of local or situational factors. It must be recognized, however, that Federal intervention — through grants and contracts, equal opportunity requirements, and court decrees — have either triggered or expedited a high proportion of the innovations which urban districts rate as unusually successful. This true of over 70 per cent of the successful programs reported under cultural pluralism; more than 60 per cent of the basic skills programs; and nearly half of those reported under action-learning.

Yet, as we examined similar federally supported programs in one district after another, it was apparent that local entrepreneurship characterizes the more successful programs. Program outcomes depend on the effectiveness of implementation and on continuing modification and improvement of all elements. The adaptations which are essential to program effectiveness, require continuing staff alertness to indicators of student motivation and performance; and these observational data must be supplemented by systematic evaluation of curriculum design, materials and methods of instruction, and effects on learning.

The effectiveness of implementation is determined by a number of factors,

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[2] Ernest R. House, Gene V. Glass, Leslie D. McLean, and Decker F. Walker. "Critiquing A Follow Through Evaluation", Phi Delta Kappan, March 1978.

of which none is more important than the capability and the extent of commitment of program leaders. Program leadership is the dynamic factor which maintains the cutting edge through continuing staff development, through enlisting central administration and community support, and through continual adaptation to observed needs and preferences of students. It may also be noted that local needs assessment and problem-solving are essential to enthusiastic commitment to the program, and are critical factors in achievement of program objectives. Moreover, strong administrative support -- at both the system and school levels -- is important to successful implementation; and so is broad community support. The understanding and support of students and their parents are likewise important to the realization of program objectives.

The promising developments cited are far from fully realized. In fact, the programs which are producing demonstrated results with previous low achievers or seem to hold promise for advancing the quality of education are notable partly because they are exceptional. At best, the more successful programs, strategies for community involvement, and curriculum revitalization processes, represent a small beginning on the enormous task of making education genuinely responsive to the needs and capabilities of those growing up in our cities. Our site-visit teams found much to commend, many successful developments to recommend to other cities, and many signs that urban education is beginning to cope with the challenges of the city. In nearly every case, however, they expressed concern over possible shortcomings or made recommendations for the

strengthening of one or another element.

We are convinced that cities cannot renew themselves without high quality education responsive to the developmental needs of all growing up in the cities. We are equally convinced that the creation of city-wide environments conducive to learning requires the combined efforts of government, business, churches and community groups of all kinds. Education is an adventure to be pursued throughout life -- in homes, from nature, and through every encounter in one's own and other cultures. At no stage should it be confined to the schools; but schools have an inescapable obligation to expedite learning in all life situations by developing the skills and the habits of observation and inquiry that make experiences educative.